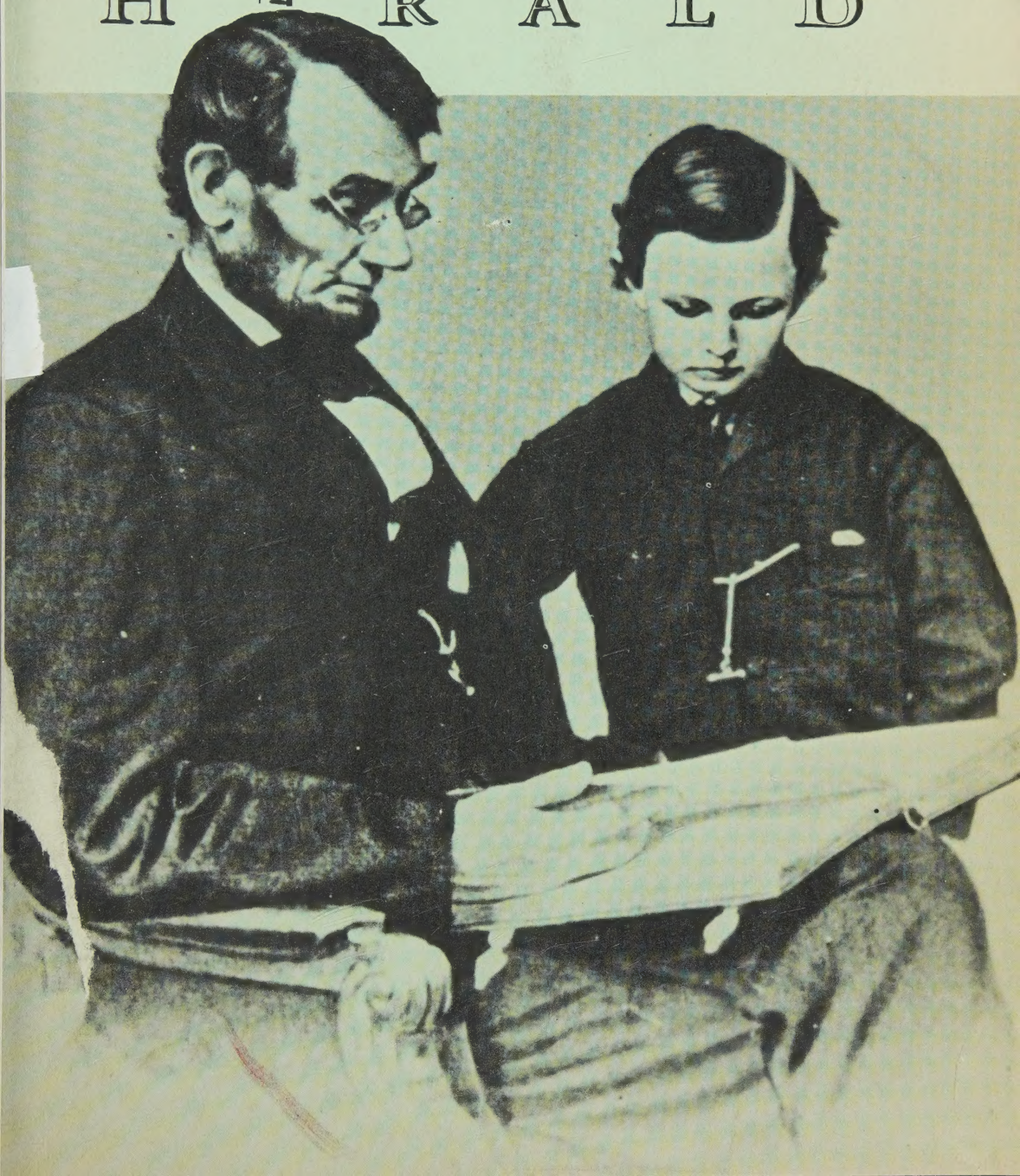


Spring-Summer 1955

Lincoln²⁷

H E R A L D



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Spotlight on the Cumberlands

A NATIONAL historical park is being developed at Cumberland Gap, the important gateway in the Cumberland range which opened the Great West for conquest. Twenty thousand acres of mountain forest framing the historic pass has been given by Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia to the federal government as a memorial to the heroic pioneers who crossed the Appalachian barrier from 1775 to 1800 to settle the fertile regions on "the waters which ran westward."

The dedication of the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park will take place in the early fall of 1955, 180 years after Boone and other trail blazers led the vanguard of settlers into Kentucky. More than 200,000 men, women, and children followed on foot and horseback through Cumberland Gap in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. That migration is one of the amazing episodes in American history. The park at the great pass will dramatize this event which gave to the new nation the vast reaches of the Western empire.

It is particularly appropriate that the property of Lincoln Memorial University is adjacent to the south entrance of the park. Here is an educational enterprise dedicated to the ideals of Abraham Lincoln, whose father and grandfather passed this way soon after the Revolution. It fittingly reflects the spirit, courage, and idealism of the brave men and women who endured countless hardships and dangers in their march westward. The institution, in fact, will be an admirable unit in the historical features preserved in the park area.

It is our hope to erect on the LMU property on the highway entering the park from the south a magnificent temple which will house our extensive Lincoln, Civil War, and Americana collections. This building will be the central structure in our educational plant and will constitute an appropriate Lincoln shrine in the South which will attract the many thousands of visitors who tour through the park. Already some pledges have been made for this building, and we hope that other benefactors will enable us to erect this crowning addition to our college plant.

With the national spotlight on the Cumberland as this new historical park is developed, we may expect Lincoln Memorial University to become more widely known and supported, and to begin a new era of service of even more far-reaching significance. The dreams of General Howard and other founders of the college will at last come to a glorious fulfillment. This achievement, however, can only be realized to the extent of the support of a grateful people who use this institution as a medium for this philanthropic service.

Lincoln



SPRING-SUMMER

1955

VOL. 57, NO. 1-2

HERALD

A Magazine devoted to historical research in the field of Lincolniana and the Civil War, and to the promotion of Lincoln Ideals in American Education.

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Cover Photograph of President Lincoln and his son Thomas (Tad), made by Mathew B. Brady in Washington on February 9, 1864. The President and Tad are looking at a photograph album. The original glass negative is owned by Frederick Hill Meserve, (Meserve No. 39).

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Entered as second-class matter October 27, 1939 at the Post-Office at Harrogate, Tennessee, under the act of August 24, 1912.

Mortality of the Five Lincoln Boys

By MILTON H. SHUTES

ABRAHAM AND MARY LINCOLN had four sons and—for her alone—one grandson. Their first loss was Eddy, the second child; their second loss was Willie, the third child; the third to die was Tad, the fourth child; and the last to go was Bob, the first born.

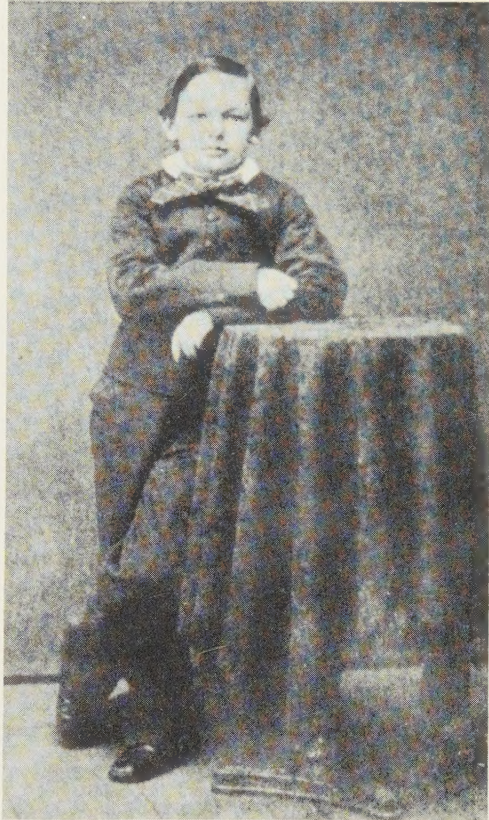
Edward Baker (Eddy)

March 10, 1846—February 1, 1850

Eddy was born nearly two and a half years after Bobby. His body was “of a longer order” than Bobby’s was at the eighth month. The little that is known so far, of Eddy can be found in the recent Autumn number of the *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*. What more there is must come by inference.

Cute little Eddy died at six o’clock on the drizzling morning of February 1, 1850, five weeks short of his fourth birthday. The cause of death has been generally accepted as diphtheria. Yet the basis for that tradition (by search and inquiry) cannot be found. W. E. Barton seems to be the first biographer to have inquired about Eddy in Springfield. Possibly the word came from Robert Lincoln. Diphtheria seemed plausible. The season and Eddy’s age were consistent, and the publishing by Nicolay and Hay of Lincoln’s misread letter that the boy was sick “fifteen” days was not inconsistent.

When the editors of the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* examined a



COLLECTION OF TRUMAN H. BARTLETT
WILLIAM WALLACE LINCOLN

photostatic reproduction of the original letter a few years ago, they found that the printed word in *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* was written by Lincoln: “fiftytwo.” This placed the traditional diagnosis in question, be-

cause fatal cases of diphtheria commonly terminated within three to seven days from suffocation or heart failure. Also, diphtheria could be confused with croup and other acute membranous infections of the pharynx and larynx.

Nineteenth century physicians were experienced in diagnosing diphtheria from symptoms and from the rapid growth of a heavy membrane with its characteristic color and indescribable odor. Recognition was comparatively easy but treatment, until *circa* 1900, was a confused, fruitless effort. The familiar painting of a family doctor sitting under the strong light of mid-night oil, intently watching the temperature, pulse and respirations of a girl-child—frightened parents waiting in the shadows—is a classical picture of the limited, expectant, supportive type of treatment. Today, large doses of anti-toxin administered immediately after bacterial confirmation, makes a diphtheric death almost unheard of.

Lincoln's statement that Eddy "was sick fiftytwo days," can be accepted as accurate.¹ Eddy was bed-sick from December 11 to February 1, or a day or so over seven weeks. Diptheritic children who survived the first week, went on to either complete recovery or to toxic complications involving principally nerve tissues. Paralysis, partial or complete, which affects the soft palate (embarrassing the swallowing act) usually appears within three weeks and at times as late as the fifth week; and multiple neuritis as late as the seventh week. Multiple neuritis is an inflammation of a number of nerves, especially of the extremities and the very vital vagus nerve which supplies the respiratory tract and the heart. A retired medical friend of the present writer has never forgotten an epidemic of diphtheria which filled the contagious ward of a large hospital. Many children, he said, died of multiple neuritis with final heart fibrillation (tremor) weeks after onset of the infection and a few

died beyond the seventh week.

Lincoln, in a letter to his friend Orville H. Browning three days before Eddy died, made no mention of grave illness in his family.² And mother Lincoln's shock and hysteria—the two are related—can be another clue to an unexpected, rapid heart failure. The fifty two days of illness is not a valid reason to discard the traditional cause of Eddy's death.

After a religious service in the home at eleven o'clock of the next day (February 2), Eddy was buried in Hutchinson's Cemetery. The little grave was marked by a marble headstone on which was carved a dove in flight and the sentiment: *Of such is the kingdom of Heaven*. Fifteen years later, his remains were placed with his father's in the Temporary Vault in beautiful Oak Ridge Cemetery and now are permanently sealed in the national Lincoln Monument.

William Wallace (Willie)

December 2, 1850—February 20, 1862

Near the end of 1850, the Lincolns were cheered by another son. His arrival eleven months after the first of February was probably designed to fill the vacant place. Before the family moved into the White House, the parents knew they had an unusual child—precocious, gifted and "thoughtful, grave beyond his years . . . a counterpart of his father, save that he was handsome." And, for good measure, he was blessed with a lovable personality.

During Willie's ninth year, he and his father were down with streptococcus, throat infections which, for Willie, was scarlet fever. That scourge of childhood was almost as dangerous as diptheria, with its predilection to kidney and heart damage. Nominee Lincoln wrote (July 4, 1860) to Dr. Anson G. Henry that Willie "has just had a hard and tedious spell of scarlet-fever; and he is not yet beyond all danger."³ Two years later, Mrs. Lincoln would write that

Willie's "severe illness . . . was but a warning to us, that . . . he was not to remain long here . . ." ⁴

Early in the first week of February of 1862, Willie was put to bed. His anxious mother wished to cancel the elaborately planned White House reception of Thursday the sixth. Mr. Lincoln, demurring, asked their physician, Dr. Robert King Stone (Professor of Medicine at Columbian College now George Washington University) to decide. Dr. Stone gave a reassuring opinion on the morning of the Big Ball. By evening Willie was worse. The *Washington Evening Star* of Saturday the eighth, was the first to announce that Willie was seriously ill. The *Washington Chronicle* and *National Intelligencer* ⁵ named the disease as typhoid fever but later the *Evening Star* and the *National Republican* ⁶ more accurately quoted the guarded opinion of Dr. Stone and his consultant, Dr. Neal Hall, as "an intermittant fever assuming a typhoid character."

An intermittent type of fever is characteristic of malaria. It is a fever which rises rapidly to a crest, continues high for hours, dips to normal and remains normal for a time. The cycle then repeats itself. A typhoid type of fever is one that rises less rapidly and, except for daily variations, the temperature curve is maintained and rarely if ever, reaches normal until recovery is assured. Sometimes these typical temperature fluctuations are a typical and confusing. Earlier physicians, without twentieth century knowledge and techniques, expressed their confusion in such diagnostic terms as typhoid-malaria and typhoid-pneumonia. The two types of pneumonia are lobar pneumonia, wherein the inflammation is restricted to one or more lobes of the lungs and the fever is high and ends in crisis—death or rapid recovery, and bronchopneumonia—common *in children*—wherein the inflammation, roughly speaking, is dif-

fused and has a lower temperature curve which never quite reaches normal. This type is now more accurately called pneumonitis.

Intelligent Elizabeth Keckley, seamstress, nurse-maid and companion to Mrs. Lincoln, stated that Willie delighted in riding his new pony everyday, that "the weather was changeable, and exposure resulted in a severe cold, which deepened into fever. He was very sick . . . always of a delicate constitution, he could not resist the strong inroads of disease. The days dragged wearily by, and he grew weaker and more shadow-like." ⁷

Without this information, the none too reliable statements of the press would leave no other casues of Willie's death than improbable bilious and typhoid fevers and malaria. Bilious fever was often loosely used for malaria presumably because of the yellowish tinge of the skin seen in malaria. It was an ancient, blanket term. Typhoid is caused by swallowing food and water contaminated by typhoid bacilli, usually during the warm season. Malaria is caused by a specific organism transmitted by inoculation in the bite of the female *anopheles* mosquito. Mosquitos did not buzz about even in flat, poorly drained Washington in January.

The later Dr. W. A. Evans (one time Chicago Health Commissioner and editor of the *Chicago Tribune's* Health Column) apparently used the bilious and intermittant fevers of the newspapers as the basis for his suggestion that if Willie died of malaria in February in Washington, it was during a relapse which often occurs in the pernicious type. ⁸ Even the much less fatal and much more common types of malaria can relapse in the mosquito-less season, and the incubation period of one variety, can be delayed from ten to three hundred days. However, a relapse of malaria in the dead of winter, even when introduced by a "cold," is a very thin possiblity. It is known that the

Lincoln children had indigestion and measles in Washington but there is no hint of malaria.

Since Mrs. Keckley said that Willie's illness began with "exposure" which "resulted in a cold," and the *Evening Star*⁹ announced ten days before Willie died, that Tad "also is sick of fever, arising from a cold," the more probable diagnosis today could be, for a child, broncho-pneumonia (or pneumonitis) with damaged kidneys as a possible, determinate factor.

Willie was sick for seventeen days or more. During the last fourteen days he grew continuously worse. There were periods of delirium and on the last day, coma. He died at five o'clock on Thursday evening February 20th, and was intombed on the following Monday during the end of a big storm of Saturday and Sunday.

Three years later, the body which had been skillfully embalmed, was placed in the railroad coach prepared for the assassinated father. During the early morning of April 21, 1865, the funeral train—lined by thousands of tear-streaked faces—moved out of Washington on its long, circuitous route to Springfield and the soldier-guarded Receiving Vault of Oak Ridge Cemetery. On December 21, Willie's body was placed in a crypt of the Temporary Vault immediately below the crypt of his father and alongside that of Eddy. Six years later, the three were moved to crypts in the incomplete Monument.

Thomas (Tad)

April 4, 1853—July 15, 1871

The fourth boy came along two years and four months after Willie. Father Lincoln, appraising the new-born, thought he resembled a tadpole rather than anyone of the family. Though christened Thomas in honor of his paternal grandfather, he was immediately and thereafter known only as Tad. None of the other children appears with such frequency and volume in Lincoln literature. At least two books

have his name in their titles. He was an active colorful child—uninhibited, tempestuous and often mannerless. His freakish, prankish behavior provoked either laughter or irritation in those who moved in and about the White House. But in his father's soft, forgiving heart, there was only very deep understanding affection.

Of Tad's physical and mental constitutions there is comparative silence. His baby nickname frankly suggests a head too large for the body and some of his photographs do not lessen that impression. His head at birth seriously injured his mother and possibly himself. If the head was abnormally large (megacephaly), it can be associated with temperamental difficulties and retarded development. Tad was a handicapped child. His articulation was poor. Julia Bayne, sister of the playmates of Willie and Tad, was sixteen years old in 1861 and their big-sister. She wrote: "A slight impediment in his speech made it difficult for strangers to understand him."¹⁰ Some writers refer to his speech defect as a lisp. W. E. Barton and a few others state (without reference to source) that Tad had a cleft-palate. A cleft, even when confined to the soft palate, produces a characteristic, grossly nasal articulatory defect. A lisp is a minor defect causing an s and z to sound like *th*. Tongue-tied, due to restricted tongue movement, sometimes interferes with enunciation. In any case, Tad had a physically induced speech defect. And though he appears to have been in some respects a bright child, he could not or would not read or write while in the White House (to age 12) and, to put it softly, was disinclined to study. Within a few maturing years, his progress under the discipline of German and English schooling, pleased his mother and big brother Bob.

In the winter of 1870, Tad began to ail. During March he and his mother sailed for home. Her cold was better

England, arrived there with his family and secretary (future son-in-law) Charles Isham on May 22, 1889. That fall, sixteen year old Jack was sent to Versailles to learn French in preparation for Harvard. He was scarcely settled in school when trouble developed under his left arm. His physician, "kind and attentive" Dr. Villon, would quickly recognize the always dangerous furuncle—a hard swelling covered by a tight, reddened skin which perforates at two or more places, discharging pus. A furuncle differs from an abscess in its hard induration, its multiple openings, its tendency to burrow and its marked constitutional symptoms. A fearful circumstance for both patient and doctor is the hidden danger of erosion into a blood vessel causing septicemia (blood-poisoning). In Jack's case, the infectious process eventually either burrowed into the pleura producing there an empyema (pus), or arrived through the blood or lymph streams, causing pleurisy with or without empyema.

The family was sent for. On November 6th, a French surgeon (Dr. Pean) operated; that is, he excised the sloughing mass of tissue to permit freer external drainage. On November 15, Robert Lincoln wrote: "Jack's carbuncle has now begun the healing process . . . and we are all settled down in fair comfort to await the time when we can return home." Eleven days later, Mr. Lincoln could still see no reason to doubt his son's recovery, his fever "was never over 102 at its worst, and nothing at all to indicate the blood-poisoning which came near taking his life last week." Jack was weak and losing weight but his appetite was good and the fever and pain almost gone. He was expected to soon "sit up out of bed." But by December 15, father Lincoln expressed some worry that Jack showed no desire to sit up *in* bed, and on Christmas day worry had become fear. The wound refused to heal and

Jack was growing weaker.

Dr. H. Webster Jones of London and formerly of Chicago, was sent for. In a letter to an interested friend, Dr. Jones wrote that Jack's disease had "undermined his recuperative powers till there is little left to build upon. . . . Certainly Jack is losing here instead of gaining ground." After watching Dr. Pean "tear away" diseased tissue from the open wound, Dr. Jones again wrote that "Jack bore it so heroically that he won all my sympathy and admiration. He deserves to get well! . . . His courage and hope is boundless."

After medical and family consultation, it was decided to "at once if at all" move Jack to London in an effort to use "every straw in his favor." They left Versailles on January 17 and reached their London home at No. 2 Cromwell House, Kensington, in about thirty-six hours—the route by way of Paris and the Channel doubtlessly eased by Mr. Lincoln's wealth and diplomatic status. Two prominent London Physicians were waiting—Drs. J. Maclagan and Smith a surgeon. They reassured Dr. Jones that the journey was not ill-advised and all agreed that the point of attack was the unhealed wound since no evidence of septicemia or pneumonia was visible. A day or two later, however, there was a temporary return of high fever and severe inflammatory reaction about the wound, suggestive of erysipelas. On February 5, Mr. Lincoln wrote to a Chicago friend: "I am very happy to tell you that Jack's general condition is sometimes very good and that he is thought to have his trouble now all local . . . that the attending medical men, and in addition Sir James Paget [famous for his contributions to medicine], this morning expressed their united belief that he will get well but for some unforeseen accident . . ."

About a week later, the "unforeseen" happened. Either the carbuncle had finally burrowed a channel into the



PHOTO BY MATHEW B. BRADY

LOCKWOOD TODD, WILLIAM WALLACE LINCOLN & THOMAS LINCOLN

pleural sac or the infection arrived through the blood or lymph streams. The spreading of infection showed in rise of temperature, weakened rapid pulse, hurried breathing and a sense of weight across the chest. For the past thirteen weeks or so, the family had been raked by hope and despair; by February 21, but little of hope remained. Dr. Jones wrote: "Poor Jack passed a critical day yesterday and was much relieved this morning as to breathing and restlessness—consequent upon the crowding of the left lung and heart by pleuritic effusion. . . . You will see how much we have to fear and how little to give us hope."

By this time all of London was watching Jack's progress. Prayers were offered up from pulpits. Dr. Joseph Parker, famous nonconformist in his big undenominational church, closed a prayer of hope: "God bless the house-

hold we have in view, and this day, almost the beginning of spring, may some brave primrose or sweet crocus arise to say that summer is coming." On the 27th, a final, desperate "operation" was done. No improvement followed and on March 4, the very last of medical and family hope was gone. Jack died the next morning at eleven o'clock, March 5, 1890, age sixteen and a half years. He died in the early dawn which followed the dark ages of medical knowledge; he may have survived with recent antibiotics and present attitude toward what is known in the profession as "meddlesome surgery." But for his day he received the very best of medical therapy.

In official contrast to the boy's dramatic illness, there is before this writer, a *Certified Copy of Entry of Death* of "Abraham Lincoln Age 16 years son of Robert Todd Lincoln

Lincoln's Radical Republican Envoy to The Hague and The Slavery Question

By ROBERT F. DURDEN

*This is the second installment of a two-part article.
Part I appeared in the Winter 1954-55 issue.*

PIKE found the Dutch government in the autumn of 1862 still interested in obtaining Negro laborers from America. Colonial labor shortages had inspired emigration proposals from them in July 1862, and the shortages continued. Rebuffed by Seward then, the Dutch now seized at the chance which Pike made known to them. Action on Seward's suggestion took time, however, and arrangements were not completed until the spring of 1863. As part of their preparations the Dutch States-General passed two ordinances relating to emigration which King William III decreed on March 19, 1863. The first of these dealt with the regulation of laboring conditions in Surinam and established certain standards for the type of depots at which the emigrants would be collected, the vessels in which they would sail, and for the conduct of the ship masters and others towards the emigrants. The indenture form contained in the first ordinance specified a work week of six days and an eight-hour day, as well as free lodging and medical service. But it contained no reference to the wage rate or to the number of years for which the indenture might be made.

The second law passed by the Dutch to facilitate emigration to Surinam set

forth the rewards to be given to those enterprising individuals who organized emigrant expeditions, that is the agents, and to those who engaged themselves by the indenture contracts for a certain number of years. The Dutch offered only forty guilders (about \$16.00) as a premium for a "male person from 16 to 40" from this country. On the other hand, a male in the same age bracket from China was worth 125 guilders (about \$50.00) and one from British India worth 100 guilders (about \$40.00). For a married Negro couple from the United States the Dutch would pay only sixty guilders (\$24.00), whereas married couples from China or British India rated 200 (\$80.00) and 150 (\$60.00) guilders respectively. The Dutch apparently expected the Lincoln government's emancipation and colonization policies to flood the market with easily obtained Negro labor.

Interestingly enough, some eager colonial official at The Hague realized the importance of advertising the proposition. The result was a blue-bound, twenty-four page booklet which translated the emigration ordinances into English. This English version, probably intended for distribution in the United States, never found its audience on this side of the Atlantic, and the little

pamphlet today lies buried in the National Archives in Washington.⁴¹

The ordinances contained many elaborations on Seward's original suggestion. Minister Pike also had one or two Dutch alterations to report to Washington. One change desired by the Dutch consisted in eliminating the appointment of the recruiting agents by the Dutch government; instead they would merely require that the agents be of "good reputation" and have the confidence of the Netherlands government. Moreover, since The Hague would take all proper measures to prevent any abuses and to have its consuls on the *qui vive*, the Dutch thought it would be both inconvenient and unnecessary to follow Seward's idea of having an American citizen in charge of the emigrants during their voyage and settlement. In other words, the Dutch would release both their own government and that of the United States from any ultimate responsibility in the much desired Negro emigration which was envisaged.⁴² Pike thus transmitted the Dutch suggestions and notified Seward that The Hague government was ready to sign a treaty.

Seward, and Lincoln apparently, continued to regard the negotiations optimistically. Late in July 1863 Seward transmitted a 'full power' to Pike and along with it a convention draft such "as would probably be approved by the Senate and ratified by the President." Pike predicted prompt affirmation of the treaty by the Dutch. He tentatively accepted several minor modifications of Seward's draft. And finally in December 1863, Minister Pike returned the completed and signed treaty for ratification by the United States.⁴³

The treaty which was signed and forwarded to Seward contains only eight brief articles. The matter of the recruiting agents was settled by allowing either the Dutch government or the governor of Surinam to "authorize in writing any person, who may be desirous of

engaging in the United States persons of African extraction to emigrate to Surinam." While Seward appears to have won a half-victory with regard to these agents, the treaty contains no provision for supervision of the emigrant parties by an American citizen, which Seward had earlier suggested. One short section declared that the emigrants should be received on "seaworthy vessels, which shall afford them healthful and convenient accommodations as to space, air, food, water and other necessities."

With regard to their accommodations in Surinam, the treaty merely called for "comfortable dwellings" or "homes" (i.e., rooms) with other inhabitants. The emigrants should be provided either with land for their own cultivation or else with employment, presumably agricultural, by others. They should enjoy "all civil rights held by native residents in the colony," and in no case should be "reduced to slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime." The ten-year duration, with the one-year-notice clause for termination after ten years, went into the treaty as Seward had originally suggested. Thus, after negotiations which stretched over fourteen months, Pike supplied the secretary of state and Lincoln with the desired treaty. The next move was theirs.⁴⁴

Oblivion awaited the treaty in this country. By early 1864 there were many reasons why any treaty concerning Negro emigration would meet certain defeat in the Senate, even if President Lincoln and the State Department should submit it, which they chose not to do in the case of Pike's treaty. First of all, an important and vocal group of abolitionists in the North and especially in congress had objected all along to Lincoln's plans for removing the Negroes. Congressional opposition, led by men like Senator Charles Sumner, became stronger in 1863, and by the Spring of 1864 various specific anti-colonization measures appeared in congress.



FROM THE MESERVE COLLECTION
CASSIUS M. CLAY

Moreover, an attempt to settle a group of over four hundred Negroes in Haiti ended in complete failure in March 1864. When the small group of hapless survivors returned to the United States in that month, reduced about a fourth in number by disease and privation, the whole colonization idea stood discredited before the country. Finally, in July 1864 President Lincoln signed an act repealing all of the measures relating to colonization which had accumulated since the beginning of the war.⁴⁵

Pike, however, faced the problem of explaining the delay in final United States ratification to the Dutch. He reported in late January 1864 that The Hague officials had repeatedly inquired when the American government would act on the treaty which Seward had suggested in the first place.⁴⁶ Answering Pike's inquiries, Seward felt "obliged to confess that it is not now expected that the treaty in regard to negro emigration will be ratified." The secretary

of state explained that the American people had advanced to "a new position" in regard to "slavery and the African class" since the time when the president, "in obedience to their prevailing wishes," had adopted the colonization idea. "Now not only their free labor but their military service also is appreciated and accepted," Seward concluded.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, Seward, unlike the President, seems all along to have regarded colonization as of dubious wisdom. On one occasion he remarked, "I am always for bringing men and states *into* the Union, never for taking any *out*."⁴⁸

Pike and Seward for once agreed, at least on the subject of colonization. Pike too had throughout disliked the idea of exporting the Negroes. When he wrote formally expressing the Dutch government's regret that the treaty would not be ratified, Pike included this gratuitous opinion: "I have no doubt, however, of the good policy on our part of rejecting the treaty."⁴⁹ Even more forcibly, Pike had expressed to Fessenden his hope that congress would "*not* ratify" the treaty which he had finally succeeded in negotiating with the Dutch. Pike confessed privately that he considered the principle on which the treaty was based a "vicious" one.⁵⁰

The minister to The Hague had strongly and early urged an emancipation policy, and yet he opposed the colonization plan, which President Lincoln long regarded as the only available solution to the problems which would inevitably follow in the train of emancipation. One might well ask the question if Pike himself had any positive ideas concerning the future fate of the American Negro. The answer is that he emphatically did. And though Pike apparently failed to realize his inconsistency, it is difficult to see how his plan was any less "vicious" than Lincoln's colonization scheme; Pike's program only had the dubious, two-fold

merit of eliminating the Negro from the United States as well as satisfying vindictiveness toward the hated white slave owners.

As early as 1853 Pike had hinted in the New York *Tribune* at a possible solution to the "race" question. At that time manifest destiny gasconading filled the country with covetous talk of Cuba and other Latin American territories. Pike sternly warned that, "We want no more ebony additions to the Republic." He already regarded it as clearly evident that "some territory on this hemisphere" had to be allotted to the Negro. Giving the Negroes "the whole of the West India Islands" would be a happy solution. Such action could relieve the North American continent of "the burden and hindrance" of its "black population." But, Pike concluded, "we fear that not only must we allot the islands of the Caribbean Sea to them, but a portion also of our own territory lying upon the Gulf of Mexico."⁵¹

During his war years abroad Pike returned to this long-held idea of surrendering a part of the deep South to the Negro, which was his version of "colonial" banishment. Slavery and the Negro were always much in his mind, and the pressure of the war in America merely served to focus and sharpen his thinking on the subject. At the same time that he was preaching emancipation in Europe and to his home government, Pike was privately setting forth his old solution to the Negro problem. His notebooks and confidential letters to friends furnish abundant evidence on this point.

In July 1862 Pike wrote that his "own scheme" for settling the "slavery question" had long been "to carve out a portion of the country, embracing some states East of the Mississippi & South of the Potomac & Ohio, as few as may be, and surrender it to the blacks, and such of the whites as desire to go with them." The vast difficulty of



FROM THE L.M. U. COLLECTION

WILLIAM L. DAYTON

incorporating four million slaves into "our political or social system" made it only "natural" to wish to be "rid of them." We might prefer to see them colonized in other countries, Pike admitted, and might hesitate to surrender any of our own territory, but "I strongly incline to the opinion that we are to have no option of this sort."⁵²

As the war in America dragged on interminably, the idea of carving out a portion of the country to be set aside for Negroes became increasingly attractive to Pike. Early in 1863 he wrote a pessimistic letter to Fessenden bemoaning the North's slow progress in the war. Pike considered the Federal position to be improved in Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky; yet the end of the war was nowhere in sight. If the Federals could make sure of the country west of the Mississippi and keep their hold on western Virginia, Pike concluded, he "should have no tears to shed over the making of a negro pen of the rest of the

South & withdrawing our jurisdiction over it."⁵³

Aside from the curious resemblance to pre-war secession talk from abolitionists like Garrison and Phillips,⁵⁴ Pike's "negro pen" plan for the Gulf states also had war-time advocates at home. In the first half of 1864, when Lincoln's colonization program had become patently impossible, various suggestions were made in congress about setting apart sections of the South for the Negroes. Some proponents recommended South Carolina and Georgia, or the lower Mississippi valley, while another version called for each Southern state to set aside a particular area within its borders where the Negroes could go.

Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, one of the lesser lights among the radicals, presented a bill in 1864 to set apart a large area in western Texas where the Negro should be segregated. More explicitly even than Pike, Senator Lane argued that the North both objected to the Negro as a laborer and disdained any mixture of races. The Southern whites, on the other hand, would hate their former slaves as well as reclaim all the Southern lands once an amnesty had been declared. Senator Lane predicted that the strong Northern sentiment in favor of Negro rights would eventually die out after the war,

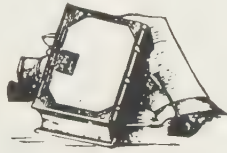
and the Negro would be left with no chance for social or political equality. ". . . I hoped the time should come when the foot prints of the white man should not be found on the soil of South Carolina," Lane declared, but since that eventuality proved unlikely the best interests of the Negroes demanded consideration. By consideration, Senator Lane, in effect, meant something similar to Pike's "negro pen."⁵⁵

Needless to say, nothing ever came of Pike's scheme nor of any of the others. In fact, except for the act establishing a Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, little or nothing was ever decided, as long as the war lasted and Lincoln lived, about post-emancipation problems in the South. Pike's ideas, however, do suggest, among other things, the deep-rooted racial antipathy which he and some of his contemporaries felt toward the Negro. His policies and negotiations at The Hague dealing with slavery well illustrate the complexities and ambiguities of President Lincoln's enormously difficult emancipation problem. Pike himself, in his paradoxical hatred of slavery and slaveholders and his aversion to the slaves as human beings, furnishes added insight into the tragic plight of four million Negro Americans in the nineteenth century.

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42. P. Van der Maesen de Somburg to Pike, June 11 1863, in Pike to Seward, no. 91, June 26 1863, DoS Papers. This was an important point; Lincoln had to do some last-minute planning to dissociate the government officially from the disastrous Haitian colonization attempt of 1863-64. See Walter L. Fleming, "Deportation and Colonization: An Attempted Solution of the Race Problem," in *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York 1914), 3-30; hereafter cited as Fleming, "Deportation and Colonization." Also Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York 1890), VI, 354-67.
43. Seward to Pike, July 31 1863; Pike to Seward, no. 98, August 26; no. 103, October 8; no. 112, December 2; no. 114, December 19 1863, DoS Papers.
44. Unperfected Treaty R2, DoS Papers. The treaty is reproduced in Hunter Miller, ed.,

- Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington 1948), VIII, 856-57. Miller also includes interesting material relating to Danish and Spanish negotiations with the United States looking towards the disposal of any Africans seized in the slave trade. Dr. E. Taylor Parks of the State Department kindly called the author's attention to this material.
45. Fleming, "Deportation and Colonization," 26; Randall, *Lincoln*, II, 139-141; Monaghan, *Diplomat*, 253-54, 272, 276. The latter has only scattered references to the subject of colonization. For contemporary appeals from Negroes who opposed the plan see, Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York 1951), 471-75.
 46. Pike to Seward, no. 121, January 27 1864, DoS Papers.
 47. Seward to Pike, no. 142, February 15 1864, *Foreign Papers 1864*, Pt. 3, 310.
 48. Bancroft, *Seward*, II, 346. Seward has been wrongly interpreted in this connection; and the error apparently grows out of an under-estimation of the importance of the colonization idea at the time and the extent to which President Lincoln believed in it. See Adams, *Great Britain*, II, 100-01, where Adams suggests that Seward grasped at colonization as another means of catering to the "material interests" of Great Britain.
 49. Pike to Seward, no. 125, March 16 1864, *Foreign Papers 1864*, Pt. 3, 312. It should be noted that the published correspondence relating to the Dutch treaty deals with its rejection; the earlier, pro-treaty dispatches remain unpublished.
 50. Pike to Fessenden, April 6 1864, JSP Papers.
 51. *Tribune*, January 10 1853; James S Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War* (New York 1879), 163-64.
 52. Notebook no. 4, 19-20; entry for July 14 1862. Pike temporarily advocated this policy during the secession crisis of 1860-61 in a number of articles he wrote for the *Tribune*. See *New York Tribune*, December 10, 21, 28, 31, 1860. The author has prepared for publication elsewhere a study of Pike's postwar book about the Negro, *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* (New York 1873).
 53. Pike to Fessenden, January 13 1863, JSP Papers. A compromise or negotiated peace looked inevitable to Pike during much of 1863-64, and this military "necessity" complemented his "negro pen" notion.
 54. Ralph Korngold, *Two Friends of Man* (Boston 1950), 163-68.
 55. Fleming, "Deportation and Colonization," 27-28; *Congressional Globe*, 1863-64, 672-75. The committee on territories reported favorably on Senator Lane's bill, but it became buried in the rush of war-time legislation. None of these plans are to be confused with Thaddeus Stevens' "forty-acres" distribution idea of 1866.



"PRESENTATION" DEBATES GIVEN TO LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

The Lincoln Room of Lincoln Memorial University is proud to announce the acquisition of a copy of the book *Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois*. Published by Follett, Foster & Co., in Columbus in 1860, this book became one of the most effective documents during the Presidential campaign of 1860.

This copy contains the inscription, entirely in Lincoln's handwriting, on the flyleaf, "George Brunk, Esq. From A. Lincoln." George Brunk was one of the earliest settlers of Sangamon County and lived on a farm ten miles southeast of what is now Springfield. His homestead was (and still is) called COTTON HILL FARM. Brunk sold firewood to Abraham Lincoln, among his other activities as a farmer. One of the traditional stories attributed to Lincoln about Brunk comes as follows:

Brunk was walking down the street in Springfield, toward a group of friends of which Lincoln was one. Lincoln, seeing him approach, said "Here comes Brunk, the bellwether of Cotton Hill."

This historic association volume was presented to Lincoln Memorial University as a gift from Dr. Karl A. Meyer, of Chicago, Illinois, nationally known surgeon and book collector. Dr. Meyer in making the gift stated that he felt that this historic book should be in a public institution where it might be viewed by many persons, rather than confined to his personal library.

Lincoln and Foster

By R. GERALD McMURTRY

EDITOR'S NOTE: Elaborate memorial programs featuring the musical compositions of Stephen Collins Foster, who was born on July 4, 1826, are held annually on January 13, the date of the composer's death in the year of 1864. This address was delivered by the editor on the occasion of the Twenty-Second Annual Memorial Program presented by The University of Pittsburgh on January 13, 1949.

DURING THE middle nineteenth century there were a great many men who directly affected the course of our history. This was a period that was tender and sentimental as well as sectional and tragic—so tragic that we sometimes call those war years and post-war years the “age of hate.” Maybe the leaders of that day were not “a forest of giant oaks.” Nevertheless, the great figure of Abraham Lincoln, who saved the Union, dominated these vital and tragic years.

During these same stirring times there was a strange, sensitive, sad and lonely man—a song-writer, who had no part in the direction of the affairs of state. Outwardly his life was uneventful, but he profoundly, though indirectly, influenced the American way of life. He gave his countrymen a musical expression of their innermost thoughts and emotions. To compose the music for those years was a more pleasant task for Stephen Collins Foster than the task assumed by Abraham Lincoln. However, Lincoln and Foster are united through their influence on American history and American culture.

In spite of their different accomplishments they had many qualities in common. For one thing, they were not

blinded by sectionalism. They did not draw a line between the North and the South. They did not let geography influence their thinking. Lincoln never ceased to think of Union and the influence of our republican government as the hope of the world, and Foster's songs leaped the boundaries of space and time and expressed universal thoughts and emotions.

They both possessed the spark of genius; they both looked deep into the tragedy of life; their tastes and wants were simple; both were affected by the homesickness of living; they both enjoyed occasional flashes of humor; they loved the music that spoke the language of the common people; they often suffered the want of appreciation of their works and deeds while they lived; they hated slavery as an evil; as patriots they gave unstintingly of their genius to preserve the nation, and both their lives were snuffed out in a tragic ending.

And now when we reflect back upon their times, we think of Lincoln and Foster as first Americans, men of undying fame, men whose lives have become a tradition, whose enduring work is a part of the American heritage—the precious heirlooms of our republic.

So far as we know the two men never met, but if they had been friends they would have seen in each other a strange mixture of resemblances and an odd assortment of differences. Both men would have sensed in the nature of the other a feeling of poetry and a searching for a solution of the mysteries of life. They would have talked of the good

earth, of the fields and rivers, and of man laboring with his hands. If they could have become acquainted, there would have been a mutual blending of interest and appreciation because both Foster and Lincoln loved their fellow-men. Certainly Lincoln heard Foster's songs which had already gone deeply into millions of citizens. Certainly Lincoln liked the homely somberness of Foster's melancholy songs which matched his own "streaking."

Unfortunately we do not know what Foster songs appealed to Lincoln. There is evidence, recorded by his biographers, that he heard and appreciated such quaint and plaintive songs as "Ben Bolt," "Jim Crow," "The Lament of the Irish Emigrant," "The Ship on Fire," "A Life on An Ocean Wave," "The Sword of Bunker Hill;" and he especially liked Dan Emmett's minstrel song "Dixie," which he heard for the first time at a minstrel show in Chicago.

Stephen Foster was a Democrat, and while not a politician, he stood on high ground with Lincoln in the belief that though slavery was perhaps an evil, the preservation of the Union was more important than the issue of abolition. Oddly enough, the membership of the Republican Clubs grew as the composer's melodies increased in number and popularity. We do not know how Foster voted in the 1860 presidential election because his party was split into three opposing factions. We do know that his brother Morrison voted for John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, which was not surprising when we remember their sister had married a brother of President James Buchanan and out of family loyalty the Fosters would logically support "Breck and Buck."* We do know that the Fosters were pro-Union, and while bitterly opposed to the Railsplitter's election, they were just as rabidly opposed to the secessionists.



FROM THE FOSTER HALL COLLECTION
STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER

It is true that some of Foster's music was set to anti-Lincoln verse, but the composer never wrote a word against the Sixteenth President. His one reference to the President is confined innocuously enough to a stanza in one of his war songs entitled "Better Times Are Coming."

*"Abra'm Lincoln has the army and the navy
in his hands,
While Seward keeps our honor bright abroad
in foreign lands;
And Stanton is a man, who is sturdy as
a rock,
With brave men to back him up and stand
the battle's shock."*

And in collaboration with George Cooper, a writer of lyrics, Foster produced a song entitled "A Soldier in de Colored Brigade" with a reference to Lincoln.

*"Old Uncle Abram wants us, and we're
coming right along.
I tell you what it is, we're gwine to muster
mighty strong.
Then fare you well my honey dear! now
don't you be afraid,
I's bound to be a soldier in de colored
brigade."*

Perhaps by the year 1862 Foster began to admire and appreciate Lincoln's greatness. The magnitude of the Presi-

*President Buchanan favored his vice-president to the extent that he put the Breckinridge ticket in the field.

dent's burdens were growing. Lincoln called on the governors of Northern states to furnish quotas of men—this meant conscription of men between the ages of 18 and 45, and in ten days after the call was made there were fourteen thousand claims for exemption filed in New York City alone. To arouse patriotic men to join the colors, James S. Gibbons wrote verses for the hour, and a tune composed by the now famous and beloved Stephen Foster was taken up by the millions. The song was dedicated to Abraham Lincoln and the title was "We Are Coming Father Abraham 300,000 More." One stanza goes like this:

*"If you look all up our valleys where the
growing harvests shine,
You may see our sturdy farmer boys fast
forming into line;
And children from their Mother's knees are
pulling at the weeds,
And learning how to reap and sow against
their country's needs;
And a farewell group stands weeping at
every cottage door;
We are coming Father Abraham, three
hundred thousand more!"*

While Foster may have been critical of certain phases of Lincoln's military policies, he did his best as a professional song writer to contribute something to the war effort in his own field of music. Who can deny the recruiting benefits of a song, with a Foster tune, bearing the title "We Are Coming Father Abraham 300,000 More?"

When we think of Lincoln we are apt to consider him in the role of emancipator and the savior of the Union, but he was above all an artist—a literary artist. Not overlooking his statesmanlike qualities, the world is better, from a cultural viewpoint, that Lincoln lived. His literary achievement in the composition of his Gettysburg Address, his Bixby Letter and his Second Inaugural have never been surpassed as the finest, clearest, grandest English ever penned. Foster and Lincoln lived during a time when literature still drank deep from the wells of European culture. But Foster, like Lincoln, sang and wrote

about his own land, and his own people in their own tongue. Their work is American, through and through. No other statesman could have written Lincoln's speeches and no other poet in any other land could have produced Foster's songs. Their work is unmistakably their own and they possess a quality that is intensely national and yet they convey a universal sentiment.

Foster produced more than two hundred songs and compositions. About twenty of them, his best works, combine the qualities of poetry, melody, simplicity and sincerity—the net result being a remarkable contribution to the music of our nation and all mankind. Lincoln was likewise prolific. The total number of his recorded words exceed those of the Bible or Shakespeare. Teachers of speech have long studied Lincoln's works for their oratorical qualities and specialists of voice culture study Foster's songs for their pure diction—especially for their open vowels.

Lincoln and Foster both loved minstrel music. Foster did not originate Negro minstrelsy but he freed the minstrels of their crudities and lack of novelty. Though Foster did not write his songs to catch a minstrel market, E. P. Christy found his product profitable. As to Lincoln's fondness for Negro minstrelsy there can be no doubt, and there is at least a possibility that he attended such a performance. Two months before the 1860 Republican convention, he attended the Hooley and Campbell minstrel performance in Chicago. That Lincoln heard Foster's songs at black-face minstrel shows, is a reasonable conjecture. As a humorist Lincoln was once associated with minstrelsy. At the Chicago Sanitary Fair in 1864 two busts were exhibited side by side and labeled "The Two American Humorists." One was Dan Rice, the blackface minstrel and the other was Abraham Lincoln, the Sixteenth President.

Lincoln is known for both his humor

and melancholia. He is often quoted as saying "If I did not laugh I should die." Foster too, is often described as being overpowered by melancholia. However, there is no ground for the suggestion that either man suffered from some tragic event in his life. But one is amazed at the variety of their moods. Fortunately their sense of humor balanced the pathos that troubled their hearts. We must not forget that Foster wrote "Camptown Races" with its exuberant chorus:

*"Gwine to run all night!
Gwine to run all day!
I'll bet my money on de bob-tail nag;
Somebody bet on de bay!"*

How could Lincoln have missed hearing his good friend, Ward Hill Lamon, sing this song in rapid staccato as he picked the strings of a banjo? Again Foster's sense of humor crops out in his "Uncle Ned."

*"He had no wool on de top of his head,
On de place where de wool ought to grow."*

There is a sincerity in the writing of Lincoln and in the songs of Foster that cannot go unrecognized. Trite though some of Foster's phrases may be, they are sincere and warm and close to the pulse of the human heart. His range is the lexicon of life; birth, love, sorrow, happiness, hunger, death. Even in Foster's almost absurd little pieces there is that indefinable something that touches the heart of the world and that opens doors that are closed to the great music masters. His subjects were simple, his music was primitive, plain—his power lay in a few carefully chosen words, in a sentiment born of the melody itself. His tunes are charming. Lincoln, too, kept himself in constant sympathy with the common people, whom he respected too highly to flatter or mislead. Both men had the ability to feel the pulse of the nation throbbing in their hearts. They could articulate the thoughts of the people in a strange, simple and ingenious fashion.

Some musicians have regretted Stephen Foster's lack of formal musical

education. What might he have been in Robert Burns' bonnie hills or in Franz Schubert's graceful halls? Again what might Lincoln's contribution have been if he had more than one year of formal education? We should not take Foster out of his Ohio River Valley, the then crossroads of the East and the West as well as the North and South. Neither should we attempt to remove Lincoln from his pioneer upbringing and prairie environment. The self-taught Lincoln strove to stereotype his sentence structure. What a tragic loss the world would have suffered if he had been successful! What a tragic loss it would have been to deprive Foster of his genius of originality, his simplicity and his gift for pure melody.

Some have spoken and written with regret concerning the tragic ending of these two men. It is undoubtedly true that Foster's genius may not have been exhausted on January 13, 1864, the date of his death, but at thirty-eight he had reached his high-water mark, a mark high enough to secure for him a lasting reputation. Others have wondered "What Would Lincoln Have Done" if he had survived the assassination bullet of John Wilkes Booth on April 14, 1865. Any answers to such questions are mere conjectures. Undoubtedly both men were fortunate. Foster paid a high price for his emotional temperament, but the entire world is richer because of that same temperament. Even Lincoln's magnificent accomplishments were made more secure by his dramatic death, and then he was spared the tragedy of Civil War reconstruction.

The fame of Foster and Lincoln has endured from the sentimental eighteenth-sixties to the materialistic nineteen-fifties, and in a nation given to hero worship no amount of debunking can rob us of the esteem we hold for these two men. It is an established fact that few of the world's great men are recognized as great by their own generation. Lincoln is an exception because he was both

a literary artist and a conqueror, the most solid foundations for fame. Even though Foster's was not a great life—as we measure great lives, no one has done more to make us more simply, more universally aware of our deeper national emotions. It was this great folk figure:

“Whose heart sang the simple joys of a world
And broke in sorrow upon his last note.”

Foster's unique accomplishments will allow him to enjoy forever a great measure of distinction, and in some respects to be placed in the same category with the Sixteenth President so far as his foundation for fame is concerned and so far as recognition by his own generation is considered. It takes years, perhaps centuries, to build the structure of a reputation which rests upon the opinion of those distinguished for learning and intelligence. The progress of opinion from the *few* to the *many* is slow and painful. But in the case of Lincoln and Foster the *many* have imposed their opinions on the *few*.

Certainly Lincoln's words (because first of all he was an artist) “will endure longer . . . than the marble and bronze upon which they have been engraved,” and Foster's place in American folk history and music has enabled him to stand out as a Shakespeare among Elizabethians.

As early as January 22, 1857, John B. Russell, writing for the Cincinnati *Gazette*, said of Foster's music:

“If popularity is any test of merit . . . Foster's melodies must be assigned a high rank. Probably no man's ideas have been more often repeated, when we consider singing, playing, whistling, etc. His tunes are a perpetual solace to the miner of California, the slave in the cotton fields of the South, and they gladden the tedious watches of the sailor in every sea reached by American or English enterprise. It is hardly too much to assert, there is not a family in this country where any musical taste exists, that has not been cheered with the melody of his songs. In fact they are sung all over the civilized world, the sea-coast cities of China not excepted. We lately read of an American traveller (Bayard Taylor, we think) teaching “Uncle Ned” to the Arabs in Africa and explaining to them, at their request, the meaning of the words, in their own dialect. A Paris correspondent of a Boston paper says, on hearing “Oh! Suzannah” whistled through the streets, . . . enthusiastically cried out “America forever!” Dickens spoke of its popularity in the prisons of England; and a friend who has spent some time in Central America, says that he has heard the natives amuse themselves by the hour, in singing snatches of Foster's early songs, which they had caught from the roving Californians.”

We dare not think of America without an Abraham Lincoln to save our Union, to free a race and to write the purest English ever penned. Likewise, what a tragedy it would be if America had never had the modest Stephen Collins Foster, our greatest folk-figure, who to the end thought of his fellowmen as “dear friends and gentle hearts.”

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HANDBOOK OF JEFFERSON DAVIS STAMPS ISSUED

The Society of Philatelic Americans has recently published its Handbook No. 6 titled “The Jefferson Davis Postage Stamp Issues of the Confederacy” by George N. Malpass. This handbook can be acquired from S. G. Rich, Sales Agent, P. O. Box B, Verona, New Jersey at 35 cents per copy.

The author's introduction states that “The philately of the Confederacy might be termed a speciality and a study of its president a ‘topical within a speciality’.” The 24 page publication is divided into three divisions: (1) Biographical, (2) Jefferson Davis on Stamps and (3) A Specialized Collection of The Number One Confederate Stamp.



Elk Horn Chair



Seth Kinman

FROM THE L.M. U. COLLECTION

Lincoln's Elk Horn Chair

SETH KINMAN, a California hunter and trapper, presented President Abraham Lincoln an elk horn chair on November 26, 1864. Kinman, a native of Pennsylvania, had gone early in life to Illinois and then on to the far western frontier. After living in California for ten years, Seth crossed the continent on foot in 1864 bringing with him the chair made wholly from horns and hides of several elk he had killed.

Arriving in Washington, D. C., Kinman requested a Mr. Lloyd from Pennsylvania, the chief clerk of the House of Representatives, to make the presentation speech. The event was evidently an interesting one, recorded for posterity by Mathew Brady who made photographs of Kinman and the unique chair. Evidently Kinman had the photographs copyrighted which he widely distributed at twenty-five cents each during the course of his travels.

Kinman was described by Thomas W. Lloyd, a mere lad at the time who came with his father for the presentation, as being as "tall as Lincoln but was much heavier and better portioned. He was dressed, even to his cap, in clothing made from the skins of wild

animals with their hair still on, and presented a very picturesque appearance."

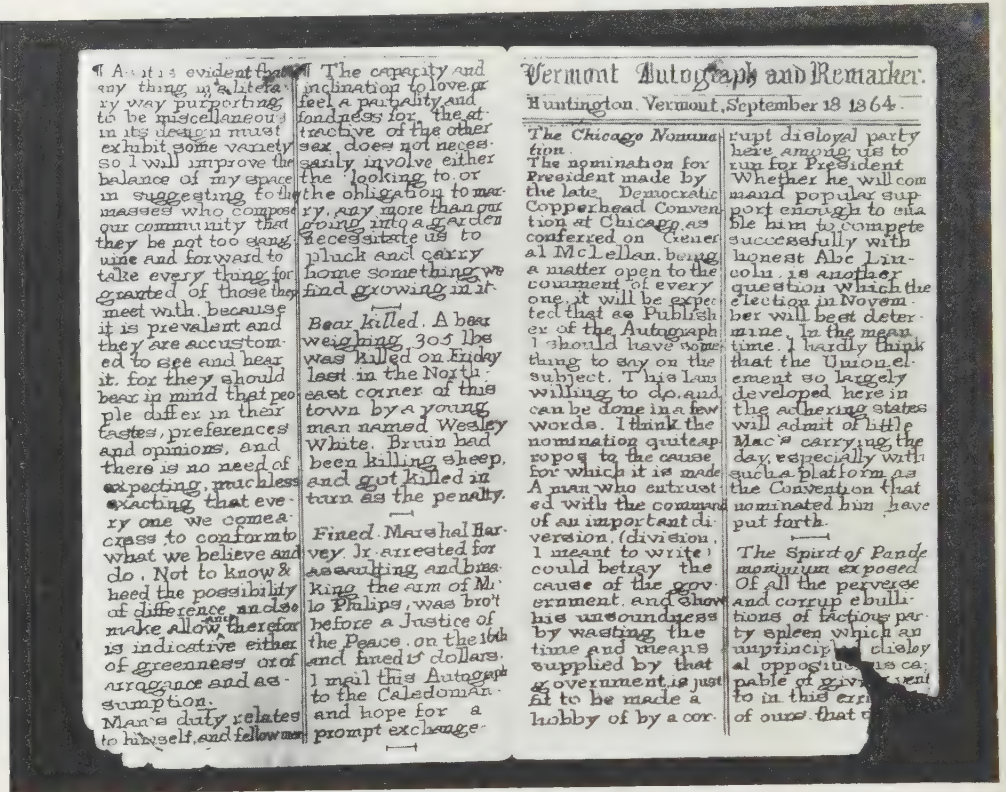
After the ceremony Kinman remained for some time regaling the president with stories of pioneer life. Lincoln showed the keenest interest in these frontier recitals, every now and then being reminded of something that had occurred in his early life in Illinois. To add novelty to this White House gathering Kinman gave some renditions on a violin made from the frontal bone of a Rocky Mountain burro, an instrument he played with great skill.

Apparently the elk horn chair became a piece of White House furniture, and with the death of Lincoln it became the property of the president's son, Robert T. Lincoln. Robert, while Secretary of War, presented the chair to S. W. Lloyd (relationship to the Pennsylvania Lloyds unknown) when the son prepared to leave Washington.

A final record of the chair reveals that in 1913 it became the subject of a Springfield, Illinois law-suit (Lloyd v. Lloyd) is a property settlement in connection with a separation suit. The chair was on display in Springfield, Illinois in 1923, but its present owner and location is unknown.

VERMONT AUTOGRAPH AND REMARKER

Huntington, Vermont, September 18, 1864



FROM THE PHILIP E. BIRMAN COLLECTION

A newspaper made with a pen by an old gentleman of 70 who issued a few copies each week.

THE CHICAGO NOMINATION. The nomination for President made by the late Democratic Copperhead Convention at Chicago was conferred on General McClellan, being a matter open to the comment of everyone, it will be expected that as Publisher of the Autograph I should have something to say on the subject. This I am willing to do and can be done in a few words. I think the nomination quite apropos to the cause for which it is made. A man who entrusted with the command of an important diversion (division, I meant to write) could betray the cause of the government and show his unsoundness

by wasting the time and means supplied by that government is just fit to be made a hobby of by a corrupt disloyal party here among us to run for President. Whether he will command popular support enough to enable him to compete successfully with Honest Abe Lincoln is another question which the election in November will best determine. In the meantime I hardly think that the Union elements so largely developed here in the adhering states will admit of little Mac's carrying the day, especially with such a platform as the Convention that nominated him have put forth.

The Spirit of Pandemonium Exposed. Of all the perverse and corrupt ebullitions of factious party spleen which an unprincipled disloyal opposition is capable of giving vent to in this country of ours that a threatened determination in advance of the election of a rival candidate for an important office to refuse to recognize & obey him in his prospective capacity is one of the most rascally and reckless. It is one which carried out is subversive of all government which we know can only exist in the acquiescence of the people in its invested authority. A republican elective government like ours being necessarily one of competition for office in the elections made of those chosen to fill it, it follows that on an election being determined in favor of one of the candidates by a majority of the votes cast, the less fortunate party must acquiesce in that decision, recognizing and obeying the elect in his assigned function reserving it for another -----to try to-----the luck.

Otherwise no government can be sustained for it is evident that if one defeated party in an election may rebel and refuse to acknowledge and obey the successful rival then by the same rule the other side if defeated may do the same, for it is a game that two can play at. The circumstance that the citizens living under a popular government have the privilege at each periodical election of striving their best to make capital and interest with their fellow citizens in behalf of their preferred candidate so as to secure his election and also of course to discuss and criticize the policy of the rulers should have weight to reconcile them to adverse fortune in an election and the advent of a new man to the helm should be received with a candid willingness to judge him by his acts rather than condemn him in advance.

It is only when and where the trust of government is outrageously abused to the infringement of the just rights of the governed that the people can be at all

justified in rising against their rulers. Hence the utterance of any threat on the part of a defeated or out of place clique to refuse to recognize the candidate of the opposite party if election is unreasonable, foolish, and wicked, and tends to destroy all respect for the cause in behalf of which it is uttered.

That there is a good deal of dishonest dealing and selfish speculation connected with the management of the war by men hanging about our armies other than soldiers is doubtless true. Such is the corruption and weakness of erring human nature that it seems as though there cannot be any goin's on of a public nature that requires regular or occasional supply but some unscrupulous ones are ready to take hold & turn it into a source of profit to themselves without caring whether the soldiers get the benefit of all of it or not. Indeed it is evident from what comes out that there is a deal of dishonest cheating and robbing done by army contractors who are apt to appropriate what is meant for the comfort of the soldiers to themselves or otherwise to ask an exorbitant price for what they sell them. But in admitting this fact it does not follow that the administration is responsible for these abuses, as authorizing or conniving at them, for there is not a good thing got up in our world but the evil one is ready to abuse it. And this disposition to abuse is so blended with human affairs that it is impossible to keep them out. But let us lay the blame where it belongs, on the shoulders of those who are instrumental in committing them & not on the innocent.



THE NEWSPAPER THAT VANISHED

There was published in Springfield, Illinois, from June 5, 1860 to November 27, 1860, a newspaper called the LINCOLN CLARION, no copy of which today seems to exist.

A New Quarterly Journal...

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CIVIL WAR
HISTORY

A NEW ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY dealing with life in America during the Civil War period, and planned to interest both scholars and general readers of the field. CIVIL WAR HISTORY'S 96-page format includes articles, notes & queries, book reviews, and special columns of interest to researchers and collectors. Line drawings and full page photostats will be included. THE FIRST ISSUE contains articles by Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, T. Harry Williams, John Gerber and E. B. Long. THE SECOND ISSUE will feature "The Mystery of Spring Hill" "The Other Gettysburg Address", "Wilson and the Reorganization of the Union Cavalry at Nashville" and "The Confederate Chaplain" CIVIL WAR HISTORY is edited by Clyde C. Walton, Jr., with the help of a distinguished board of editorial consultants and published by the State University of Iowa Library. Rates for subscriptions: \$5.00 per year, \$4.00 when Civil War Round Tables subscribe as a body. Please address:



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THE ROUND TABLES

Edited by A. E. GELDHOF

Chicago

The Chicago Civil War Round Table was honored on February 18 by the appearance of Bruce Catton, Pulitzer-Prize winner and Editor of *American Heritage*, who took as his subject "Lincoln the Amateur Soldier." Before a capacity audience at the comfortable club rooms of the Furniture Club of America, Catton examined Lincoln's capacities as a strategist, described the mountainous obstacles in his path, and told in absorbing fashion how the amateur general succeeded where so many trained soldiers failed. The ensuing discussion took the members into many facets of Lincoln's character as commander-in-chief and was one of the most interesting in the history of the organization.

A phase of the Civil War that gets little attention from historians was expounded at the 140th meeting of the Chicago group on March 25 at the Pearson hotel, when Clyde C. Walton of the State University of Iowa Library discussed "The Indians in the Civil War." He gave descriptions of several battles fought on the northern and southwestern plains between Federal troops, mostly miliamen, and redskins who took advantage of the preoccupation of the army in the East with the Army of Northern Virginia to attack thinly-held forts and settlements. He gave special attention to the Chivington raid on the Arapaho Indian village on Sand Creek as having precipitated a series of Indian wars that culminated in the Custer massacre many years later. Walton, a member of the Chicago CWRT, is also editor of the new quarterly, *Civil War History*, published by the State University of Iowa, subscriptions to which are now included in the dues of the Chicago group.

A comparatively minor engagement was described at the April meeting of another university editor, Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, of the *Lincoln Herald*. This was the first Federal victory in the war, the battle of Mill Springs or Logan's Cross Roads, in which a civilian general, Felix K. Zollicoffer of Tennessee, lost his life and lost the battle to Gen. George H. Thomas through his own blunders. Dr. McMurtry told of Zollicoffer's error in cross-

ing the flooded Cumberland river to attack Thomas' brigades with the river at his back, and of how he rode up to Federal Col. Speed S. Fry in the confusion of the battle. Mistaking him for a Confederate, Zollicoffer said, "We must not fire on those troops; they are our own men". Whereupon Fry replied, "Of course not" and shot Zollicoffer through the heart with his pistol.

On May 6 Dr. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University addressed the Chicago CWRT on the subject of his recent biography of Beauregard. Officers for 1955 were elected as follows: President, E. B. Long; Vice President, Dr. Karl A. Meyer; Secretary, Marshall W. Rissman; Treasurer, C. Robert Douglas (re-elected); Members of the Executive Board, Arnold Alexander, J. M. Slechta and H. George Donovan.

Washington

Virgil C. "Pat" Jones gave the Washington Round Table a preview of his coming book, "Guerillas vs Union Life Lines," at its meeting on January 11. The guerrillas in the area along the Potomac, he said, were responsible for carrying the war into 1865. The four major partisan leaders who covered the area from Washington almost to the Ohio river were John H. McNeill in West Virginia, Elijah V. White along the Potomac and in Maryland, Harry Gilmor in the Shenandoah Valley and Maryland, and John S. Mosby near Washington. Jones reminded his listeners that one of President Lincoln's famous quotations originated when Col. Mosby captured Brig. Gen. Stoughton in his famous raid on Fairfax Court House, along with 30 privates and 58 Union horses. "Well, I'm sorry for that," said Lincoln, "I can make brigadier generals, but I can't make horses."

At the February meeting the grandsons of the two leaders who faced each other in the siege of Vicksburg were present—John C. Pemberton and General U. S. Grant III. Francis E. Wilshin of the National Park service, author and historian, unrolled in detail the drama of Grant's campaign for Vicksburg. He illustrated his talk with maps and slides of

both wartime and present day scenes. Pemberton in a brief talk expressed the hope that future historians will re-examine the Vicksburg campaign and assess his grandfather in a more meritorious light.

On March 8 officials of the Baltimore and Ohio and Southern Railways were invited guests to hear Maj. Marshall Andrews, a member of the Round Table, talk on "The Iron Horse on the Washington Battle Front." Among them were Harry DeButts, President of the Southern, Edison H. Burgess, Vice President of the B. & O., and Maj. Gen. Paul F. Yount, Chief of Transportation, United States Army.

The third Gold Medal Award ceremonies were held at a gala dinner at the National Press club on April 12 with Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winning historian and author, being the recipient of the gold medal. Rear Adm. John B. Heffernan, President, presided, with Brig. Gen. Carl A. Baehr as master of ceremonies and presenter of the award. Special guests of the evening were the Misses Mary, Irene and Louis Sheridan, the general's daughters, Senator and Mrs. Barry Goldwater, Senator and Mrs. Edward Martin and Hon. Conrad L. Wirth and Mrs. Wirth. The attendance numbered 350. Mr. Catton followed the presentation of his award with a discussion of Phil Sheridan and the Battle of Five Forks, with the resultant controversy over the firing of Gen. Warren.

At the meeting on May 10 Adm. Heffernan discoursed on Adm. Raphael Semmes and his part in the naval history of the war. On May 21 the group made a field trip to Spotsylvania court house battlefield, with Francis Wilshin as shepherd and narrator.

—COL. EUGENE TAMPEL

Houston

The Houston Civil War Round Table has initiated the practice of having tape recordings made of each address for distribution to members, the first to be so distributed being the talk on "Stonewall" Jackson by William B. Ruggles, Editor of the Dallas News. The membership had increased from 25 to 39 after its first seven meetings. Palmer Bradley, Houston member, addressed the group in January on the Chickamauga campaign, his talk being illustrated by maps prepared by C. R. Ebersole, Houston member. Col. Harry M. Henderson, Ret., of San Antonio, was the February speaker, discussing Hood's Texas Brigade. Monroe Cockrell of Chicago, a visitor, gave a bonus talk on Gen. Forrest. Daniel O'Flaherty flew from Richmond to deliver the March talk on Gen. Jo Shelby, and a lively discussion developed on whether Jefferson Davis had promoted him to major general. Dr. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University discussed Gen. Beauregard on April 6.

Members of the Houston Club are endeavor-

ing to develop more programs about the Trans-Mississippi and the roles that Texas and Texans played in the Civil War.

GEORGE KIRKSEY

N. Carolina

The first meeting of the North Carolina Round Table was held on March 19, and drew favorable notice in the Greensboro press, which hailed the meeting as demonstrating "as much enthusiasm as has been seen in these parts since the surrender of the Yankee garrison of Fort Sumter." It also reported that consideration for the present government restrained the membership from a pledge of allegiance to the C.S.A.

Under the aegis of Manly Wade Wellman, Burke Davis and John R. "Rebel" Peacock, the N.C. group is informally organized, with no officers except as secretary and treasurer, who is the redoubtable "Rebel" Peacock, and an executive committee, but 48 members signed the charter, an unusually large starting number. The organization is state-wide in scope and will hold its meetings in various cities of the state; ten or more towns are already included on the rolls.

The initial meeting heard Col. Robert Selph Henry of Washington deliver his familiar and engrossing talk on Forrest's victory at Brice's Crossroads. On April 17 the group toured the North Carolina battlefields of Bentonville and Avasboro, and on May 10 Ezra J. Warner spoke to the second meeting on "Generals in Gray," a subject close to the hearts of an organization which includes only one Yankee member.

Milwaukee

The Milwaukee CWRT started the year with its 69th meeting in January, with an address by Daniel O'Flaherty on Gen. Jo Shelby. At the February meeting Bruce Catton held forth on Sheridan at Five Forks and his dismissal of Gen. Warren, and at the March 24 meeting Clyde Walton of the University of Iowa spoke on the "Indians in the Civil War." On April 14 Dr. Gerald McMurtry discussed the death of Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer and the battle of Mill Springs. The May meeting was entertained by Prof. T. Harry Williams and his address on Beauregard.

Philadelphia

The Lincoln-Civil War Society of Philadelphia celebrated Lincoln's birthday on February 12 by gathering in the morning at the Bellevue-Stratford and riding out to the Parkway, where a wreath was laid at the foot of the Lincoln statue. In the evening the birthday dinner meeting was held at the Old Custom House at 420 Chestnut street, where the speaker was Dr. Louis A.

Warren of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, editor of *Lincoln Lore*. New members welcomed included Dr. Chapin Carpenter, William C. Ferguson, H. Allen Gosnell, Harry L. Dalton, Roy A. Heymann Sr. and Roy A. Heymann Jr., C. David Lehman, Henry B. McIntire and Norman Melnicoff. In March the members were guests of Dr. William McCarthy at the Rosenbach Foundation.

Southern Calif.

The west coast was added to the roster of Civil War Round Tables on January 20, when the CWRT of Southern California held its first meeting. The group was organized by Justin G. Turner, Percival G. Hart and John Valentine, all members of the Chicago CWRT, and with the exception of making Valentine secretary, has not yet perfected formal organization. The first speaker was Irving Stone, author of *Love is Eternal* and other distinguished works. His topic was "Researching the Civil War Period." Dr. Brainard Dyer, professor of history at UCLA, was speaker on February 24. His subject was "Thomas Dudley, Nemesis of the Confederates." The third dinner meeting on March 24 was addressed by James B. Speed, descendant of the Kentucky Speeds, whose subject was "Thaddeus Stevens, Flame Thrower."

Justin G. Turner addressed the meeting on April 28 on "Jubal Early and the Frederick Ransom," implementing his address with documents from his collection. All speakers are members of the group. The interests are well balanced as they have a number of staunch Confederates. Meetings are held at the Beverly Gourmet restaurant in Beverly Hills, and have been well attended, running from 35 to 50 at each session. Thus we add another link to the chain to carry on at this extreme end of the country.

—JUSTIN G. TURNER

New York

Members and guests filled the New York University Faculty club to capacity on January 26, when Prof. James A. Rawley, Chairman of the Department of History at Sweet Briar college in Virginia, reviewed the life of Maj. Gen. Edwin D. Morgan, who, as governor of New York in the first 18 months of the Civil War, raised more than one seventh of the total Union army.

Another large gathering turned out on February 23 to hear member Frank Warner, collector and interpreter of American folk music, sing songs of the North and South. All present eventually joined in some hearty singing of both Union and Confederate selections, such as "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

Charter member John C. Pemberton III gave an "Introduction to Pemberton at Vicksburg" on March 22, presenting a concise ac-

count of his grandfather, defender of Vicksburg, the subject of his recent book. Pemberton quoted Col. Matthew F. Steele as observing that "beyond a doubt the command entrusted to Pemberton at Vicksburg was the most difficult, if not the most important, that fell to the lot of any Confederate general except Lee alone." On April 21 Jim Bishop, author of *The Day Lincoln Was Shot*, was the speaker. Bishop said the most difficult bit of information he had to uncover in writing his book was what Lincoln had for breakfast on April 14, 1865. From writings left by the White House cook he finally learned that the president's morning meal that day consisted of an egg and an apple. Member Jules Sindie displayed to the members the key to Box 7 of Ford's theater, occupied by Lincoln on the fatal evening. He obtained it from the Oliver H. Barrett collection.

Among new members are Francis Brown and Pierce G. Fredericks of the New York Times editorial staff, Lt. Comdr. H. Allen Gosnell, USNR Ret., Charles K. Peck, Jr., television writer, and Dr. Louis Forsdale of Columbia. Members Van Dyk MacBride, James D. Horan and Arnold Gates are now members of the Confederate Research Club of Portsmouth, England.

The May meeting was addressed by Maj. Gen. Roger J. Browne, on the subject, "Application of Air Power as Related to the Civil War."

ARNOLD GATES

Atlanta

Col. Allen P. Julian outlined the Siege of Atlanta for the members of the Atlanta Civil War Round Table at the Variety club on February 9, amplifying his previous talk of a few months ago on the Atlanta campaign. Col. Julian, an army officer on active service in Atlanta and an excellent historian, has the advantage of seeing the operations through military eyes. Dr. T. Harry Williams, author of *Lincoln and His Generals*, was the speaker on April 11, discussing the subject of his new book, *Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray*.

—BEVERLY DUBOSE, JR.

THE LINCOLN GROUPS

Dist. of C.

The Washington Lincoln Group elected the following officers at its February meeting: President, Col. Randle Bond Truett; First Vice President, Dr. C. Percy Powell; Second Vice President, Carlton J. Corliss; Treasurer, Dr. C. Percy Powell; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Anna V.

Haysmann; Recording Secretary, Miss Josephine Cobb; Board of Governors, Victor M. Birely, David C. Mearns, Oswald Ryan and Jesse C. Suter.

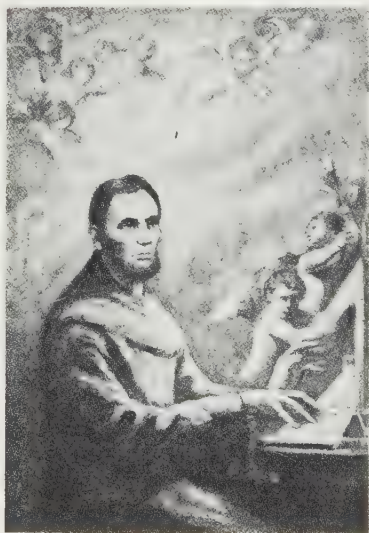
Bruce Catton and Congressmen George A. Dondero and C. W. Reed were elected honorary members. On February 13 the group attended the annual services commemorating Lincoln's birth at the Lincoln Museum, and on the 12th Past President Birely placed a wreath at the Lincoln Memorial during the exercises held there by the Loyal Legion.

The group attended a showing of the movie, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" on January 12 at the Library of Congress as guests of the welfare and recreation association of the library. The high spot of the fall was a well attended meeting at the National Press club on November 15, when William H. Townsend of Lexington gave his thrilling lecture on Cassius M. Clay. Among the guests were Dr. Frederick Hill Meserve and his family, of New York, celebrating his 89th birthday. Col. Townsend and Dr. Meserve were presented with honorary memberships.

Madison

Copperhead attacks on Lincoln and his administration in Wisconsin were described at the February meeting of the Wisconsin Lincoln Fellowship by Dr. Frank L. Klement, of the department of history of Marquette University. He told of Marcus ("Brick") Pomeroy's description of the president as "but the fungus from the corrupt womb of bigotry and fanaticism." Dr. Walter D. Kline, of the staff of the Milwaukee Public Museum, was elected president of the Fellowship, and others named included Prof. William B. Hesseltine, of the University of Wisconsin, Miss Charlotte Kohn of LaCrosse and James R. Durfee of Madison as vice presidents, Louis W. Bridgman of Madison as secretary, and Miss Margaret Smith of Madison as treasurer. Added to the board of directors were Milo K. Swanton, Madison, John W. Gross, Janesville, and Harris G. Allen, Milton Junction, the retiring president. The Lincoln Fellowship's address is 1910 Kendall ave., Madison, 5.

If different artists had painted Lincoln



From the L. M. U. Collection
"With apologies to Murillo"

In the files of the Lincoln Room at Lincoln Memorial University there is a series of ten small pictures (of various sizes) depicting Lincoln as he would have been portrayed if he had been a subject of the great master painters. They were first published in the February 14, 1918 issue of (old) *Life*.

These pictures are in no particular order, bear no artist's name and have no date or imprint. However, a typewritten label indicates that they were drawn by Power O'Malley. A student of these portraits fails to reveal the artist's intent. Was he serious or facetious? People who have examined them have various reactions. Some view them as a serious study; while others think they are ludicrously funny.

The portrait selected for this issue of the *Lincoln Herald* might be designed "with apologies to Murillo."

The remaining portraits will be published in subsequent issues of this magazine.

IN THE LITERARY FIELD

BOOK NEWS DIGEST

By E. B. LONG, *Literary Editor*

WE NEED more Lincoln news! Surely there are more projects, published or underway, that we are missing. Let us hear from anyone who is working on a Lincoln subject, has recently published something in the field or knows of an effort in the works.

This fall will see the unveiling of one of the most important projects in the history of our favorite war and its leaders. The new Civil War Book Club will issue its first book in October. Ralph G. Newman of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop is President of the club and will be advised by Bruce Catton, Stanley F. Horn, Dr. Allan Nevins, Benjamin P. Thomas and Bell Irvin Wiley. Plans call for issuing of first editions, signed by the author or editor. Books will include both Civil War and Lincoln volumes.

Turning to Lincoln books, Mrs. Ruth Randall, author of *Mary Lincoln* is at work on a volume concerning Lincoln's sons. Richard Current of Champaign is completing Dr. James Randall's monumental *Lincoln the President*. Another important new book is *Abraham Lincoln and Coles County, Illinois* by Charles H. Coleman.

The Lincoln Memorial University Press is publishing its first book—a new edition of the extremely well received *Wilderness Road* by Dr. Robert L. Kincaid, President of L.M.U.

Dr. William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf are working on a book, *Blue and Gray on the Nile*, the story of the Civil War soldiers who joined the Egyptian armies. Richard Harwell has edited a new edition of Richard Taylor's *Destruction and Reconstruction*, while a new edition of Allan Nevins' life of John Charles Fremont has also been

issued. Col. Joseph B. Mitchell has written *Decisive Battles of the Civil War*, and Jay Monaghan's long awaited *Civil War on the Western Border* is on the year's list of important volumes. Jefferson Davis is the subject of the first volume of a biography by Hudson Strode. The University of Pittsburgh Press is publishing *The North Reports the Civil War* by Cutler Andrews.

The sometimes neglected women in the Civil War will be the subject of *Heroines of Dixie* by Katharine M. Jones. Clifford Dowdey has written *The Land They Fought For; The Story of the South as the Confederacy* for the Mainstream of America series. This will be followed with a volume on the north by Bruce Catton. The Daughters of the Confederacy and their problems will be covered in *When All is Said and Done* by Dolly Blount Lamar, President General of the U.D.C.

Appleton-Century-Crofts will bring out a new one volume edition of *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* to be edited by Larned G. Bradford.

Turning to the novels, MacKinlay Kantor will bring out a long awaited novel this fall, *Andersonville*. Other novels brought to our attention include *The Raiders* by William E. Wilson; *The Bright Sword* by Eleanor Perenyi; and *The Quicksilver Pool* by Phyllis A. Whitney.

Adding to our recent article on Civil War and Lincoln recordings—*Ballads of the Civil War*, an excellent two-record set sung by Hermes Nye and issued by Folkways; and *Songs of the North and South* with Frank Luther and Zora Layman, thirty-five songs including many old tear jerkers, issued by Decca.

Book Reviews

THE DAY LINCOLN WAS SHOT

by JIM BISHOP

Book, cloth, 8½" x 5¾", 301 pp., illus., Harper and Brothers, Price \$3.75.

Here is one of the most dramatic accounts of the assassination ever written. However, there is nothing new in it outside of its treatment. It begins graphically with 7 a.m. and carries it on to the end. The mounting tenseness of the drama, the outcome of which we all know, is very well carried out. The appointments, the activities, the big and little things of that famous Good Friday are all here. There is no doubt that Mr. Bishop felt the emotional impact of history and he certainly transmits it to the reader.

On the other hand, it is to be most deeply regretted that ☆ ☆ ☆ does not give credit to those who have provided it with much material. This has been corrected in later printings. There are those such as Dr. Otto Eisenschiml who have labored diligently for many years and have delved into the innermost secrets of the assassination and have come up with new facts. Some may not agree with their opinions but we all recognize the great job of historical research they have done. It is not a crime to make use of this material; indeed it should be used, particularly when used as well as Mr. Bishop does. There is nothing at all wrong with the retelling of an important story such as this one. But it is only fair to those who have gone before, and those who read today, to point out the aid and sustenance that has been received from others. No doubt the author did much reading and checking on his own, but it is also obvious that the book owes a great debt to the other students of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

—EBL

☆ ☆ ☆

THE LOST ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF CORINTH AND THE COURT MARTIAL OF GEN. VAN DORN

by an Unknown Author

edited by MONROE F. COCKRELL

Book, cloth, 8¾" x 5¾", 78 pp., illus., map, McCowat-Mercer Press, Jackson, Tenn., Price \$1.50.

No one has been more diligent in tracking down the little known, the forgotten, the obscure facts and events of the Civil War than Monroe F. Cockrell, Confederate historian. After spending years in studying the Battle of Corinth, Mississippi, Mr. Cockrell discovered an old pamphlet giving a vivid, accurate account of the battle. This virtually unknown work by an author too modest

to sign his name has been handomely reprinted with some excellent pictures of the battlefield, an additional account of fighting in the area by the editor and a detailed map also by Mr. Cockrell.

Was Confederate General Van Dorn guilty of not capturing Corinth by failing to continue the attack in October, 1862? Where was General Grant during the battles at Corinth and Iuka and why wasn't he present? Why wasn't Vicksburg captured in the fall of 1862? Why didn't the Federal forces follow up their opportunities in the West during the year? There are only a few of the questions posed by the editor.

This military study certainly adds greatly to the literature of Corinth. In his editing, his footnotes, his own account of the battle and in his maps Mr. Cockrell has demonstrated ability that one might wish to see on a larger canvas. The publishers are also to be congratulated on the design and printing of the volume.

—EBL

☆ ☆ ☆

THREE LINCOLN MASTERPIECES

Cooper Institute Speech—Gettysburg Address—

Second Inaugural

by BENJAMIN BARONDESS

With Preface by DAVID C. MEARNS

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", front., 156 pp., Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc., Charleston, West Virginia. Price \$3.

A pleasant feature to Benjamin Barondess's book is the fact that each new reading seems to offer something fresh in Lincoln appreciation. The book is essentially a study of three memorable Lincoln addresses. Barondess has restored the words of Abe Lincoln to their complete setting at Cooper Union, Gettysburg and before the Capitol on the occasion of the second inaugural. He has done a noteworthy job in showing the prairie lawyer before a distinguished New York audience. He indicates that the man had indeed a rare command of words if, in spite of wrinkled suit and midwestern phrasing, the people who came to listen cheered him when he had finished speaking.

If it was different at Gettysburg. Lincoln was now President, tried and tested in the ordeal of civil war and the endless stream of problems the vast struggle entailed. Though there was some doubt that he could do justice to the solemn dedication Mr. Barondess quietly shows how completely Abe Lincoln could rise to the occasion. What he said that day is printed in schoolbooks and is short enough for every age to memorize. What was said on the speaker's platform. what

his audience thought and what the newspapers across the land reported concerns Barondess. He assembles all of this into a highly readable account which is also a tribute.

With the Second Inaugural Address Mr. Barondess concludes a study which will certainly be a ready reference for a long time to come. Though the scene in Washington was overcast with rainclouds the sun managed to break through just as President Lincoln was about to speak. Without rancor or bitterness, with that humility which is ever the quality of true greatness, Lincoln looked to a brighter future. The day, the man and his words is the essence of the final portion of Barondess' study. The picture he draws is a moving one.

—ARNOLD GATES

★ ★ ★

THREE PRESIDENT AND THEIR BOOKS

by DAVID C. MEARNS, JONATHAN DANIELS,
ARTHUR BESTOR

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", 129 pp., University of Illinois Press. Price \$2.50.

The Windsor Lectures in Librarianship at the University of Illinois sought to determine the influence of books on the minds, characters and actions of three American Presidents. The three men who discuss this have been intimately familiar through extended study with their subjects.

Arthur Bestor discusses the great influence of books on our most bookish President—Thomas Jefferson. He points out the ambitious building of a super-library later made available to the Library of Congress, and develops the vast scope of Jefferson's reading on his ideas. Jefferson's great wish was to have books circulated freely, to enable the public to think for themselves. The building of the Library of the University of Virginia was actively sponsored by Jefferson at the age of 81.

Franklin Roosevelt was essentially an "accumulator" and, as Jonathan Daniels points out, was interested in any book that met the needs of man. Roosevelt's exposure to standard boyhood books, the proximity of the classics, the amassing of a naval library and the availability of books of all kinds, even under presidential pressure, are all covered in this delightful, informal essay.

David Mearns has a hard task in tracking down what Abraham Lincoln read. He presents many accounts of boyhood incidents involving books and in a good job as a literary detective, eliminates illogical stories. He delves on youthful learning and dwells briefly on the influence of Blackstone on Lincoln's legal training. He points out Lincoln's reading habits were inconsistent, such as one might expect from a moody man. His tastes were not catholic and his growth in intellect patterned closely his variety of choice of literature. Biography and history were useful to him only insofar as facts could be gained for political use. Lincoln was suspicious of biography. He was most familiar with the Bible, in spite of his earlier reputation as not being overly religious. Mathematics fascinated him and he claimed to

have mastered the six books of Euclid. The classics and fiction did not hold a profound place in his reading habits. Poetry was a minor development and his fondness for William Knox's melancholy offering "Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud," is a corollary to a study of his peculiarities. Actually Mearns points out that in spite of his strange attachment to this poem, he frequently got mixed up in reciting it. Newspapers played an important part in his reading, especially in White House days. Government documents of all kinds were well used.

Two items curiously overlooked by Mearns must have been omitted as not being too important. This reviewer would have discussed the "Kentucky Preceptor" as undoubtedly having a profound influence in the youthful learning period, and the "Orpheus C. Kerr" papers as evidence of maintenance of the well-known Lincoln humor. Mearns concludes in full agreement with William Herndon's finding that "Lincoln read less and thought more than any man in his sphere in America . . . if not in the world."

JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR

★ ★ ★

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND HIS AMERICA

by HARRY BARNARD

Book, cloth, 9½" x 6¼", 606 pp., illus., Bobbs-Merrill. Price \$6.

A forgotten man has at last received the credit he deserves and in the way he deserves it; the man, who after the dubious start of a disputed election, ended Reconstruction, gave stability to the country and dignity to the office of president—Rutherford B. Hayes.

Here, as Harry Barnard says, is not so much a biography of a president as "a biography of a man who happened to be President." In many ways Hayes typifies the America of his day and his kind should be more than welcome today. A successful Ohio lawyer and businessman who made money in the most scrupulous way, a fighting brigadier general in the Civil War, Congressman, three times governor of Ohio and President of the United States. And yet with all these solid achievements and all the outward appearance of simple dignity, Hayes was a man of complexity and certainly of great interest.

Barnard, author of the biography of John Peter Altgeld, "Eagle Forgotten," has done a superb job of scholarship coupled with a rapidly flowing, graphic style which results in the kind of picture he desired. The book fits Hayes as any good biography should its subject. Barnard has given the contested Tilden-Hayes election the careful analysis and documentation it deserves but has not allowed it to displace the objectives of the book. The result is to bring Hayes the man and president into focus and place the bitter election in its real light as an incident of American political life and not the main event in the life of a president. Barnard believes that Hayes progressed throughout his life and that after he left the

presidency he rejected much of the unfortunate results of some of the new industrialization. Reconstruction was ripe for its end but it took a strong man to do it. Hayes was the man and to many this is his most important achievement.

It is to be hoped that Barnard will find more Americans to bring out of the limbo of lost into the light where they may be of help to us today.

—EBL

☆ ☆ ☆

BEYOND THE CROSS TIMBERS

The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1887

by W. EUGENE HOLLON

Book, cloth, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", 270 pp., University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. Price \$4.

Gen. Marcy is of Civil War interest because he was father-in-law of George B. McClellan, whom he served as chief of staff during McClellan's campaigns. Marcy also suffered with McClellan's downfall; confirmation as brigadier general of volunteers was twice blocked in the Senate, and it was not until Grant intervened that Marcy was awarded a deserved brevet as major general. This book of course gives greater attention to Marcy's more important service as leader of five major exploring expeditions in the Far West. McClellan was with him on an exploration of the sources of the Red River. McClellan's fixing of the 100th meridian 50 miles too far east resulted in a boundary dispute between Texas and Oklahoma; in McClellan's defense it should be noted that he used an inaccurate pocket watch, no chronometer being available. Marcy's daughter was engaged to Lt. A. P. Hill for a long time and considerable family pressure was brought to bear on her to induce her to accept a future Union commander-in-chief instead of a future Confederate general. One of Professor Hollon's greatest contributions is his interesting description of details of army life in the days before the war.

—DON RUSSELL

☆ ☆ ☆

BANNERS AT SHENANDOAH

A STORY OF SHERIDAN'S

FIGHTING CAVALRY

by BRUCE CATTON

Book, cloth, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", 254 pp., end papers and map, Doubleday. Price \$2.50.

Bruce Catton, long-time and brilliant student of the Civil War and current editor of *American Heritage*, has produced an intriguing first novel in Doubleday's Cavalcade Books, a series of historical novels designed for younger readers. Mr. Catton is of course well-known for his three-volume military history of the Civil War, the third volume of which, "*A Stillness at Appomattox*", won for him the richly-deserved Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award in 1954.

The present volume is the story of Bob Hayden, told in Bob's own words. An orphan, reared by a stern, Bible-reading uncle in a small

Michigan village, Bob runs away from home early in the war and joins the 2nd Michigan Cavalry. A small, agile young man, he develops into a skilled horseman, while his spunk wins for him the friendship of a hard-bitten Regular Army sergeant, Joss Pettit, and later during the Tennessee campaigns attracts General Phil Sheridan's attention. Sheridan assigns Bob the job of carrying the general's swallow-tailed red and white flag wherever Sheridan himself goes in battle or out.

From here on Bob Hayden's story merges in large part with Phil Sheridan's story. Accompanying Sheridan to his new command in the East in 1864, Bob participates in the dashing cavalry raids of the Shenandoah Valley campaigns. The inspiration of Sheridan is surpassed only by the inspiration Bob finds in the Virginia town of Winchester, where he meets Lavinia Edwards, daughter of a physician loyal to the Union. She was, in Bob's words, "a little slip of a girl," who "meant more than Sheridan did, because if he changed a little of my life, she changed all of it." Through Lavinia, Bob finds meaning for the war's fighting and a goal to look forward to at war's end. The story reaches its climax when Bob travels concealed under a pile of vegetables in a Negro's cart through Confederate lines in order to get a message from Lavinia.

The book catches effectively the thoughts and feelings of a young man away from home for the first time, facing the uncertainties of war. His excitement, fear, hope and joy are all clearly reflected. One only wishes that more of the action, color and suspense of the fighting that Mr. Catton captured so successfully in such a volume as *Glory Road* might have found a larger place here.

—DAVID LINDSEY

☆ ☆ ☆

CONFEDERATE LETTERS OF

JOHN W. HAGAN

Edited by BELL IRVIN WILEY

Book, paper, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6", front., 55 pp., University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia. Price \$1.50.

Bell Irvin Wiley has been a diligent searcher in the obscure corners of American history. From the raw material of his findings he has fashioned many a revealing chapter on the lot of the enlisted man in the Civil War. His latest contribution tells more of the soldiers who endured the long bitter years of that struggle.

In this book forty-three of John W. Hagan's letters, mostly to his wife Amanda, tell the story of a young Confederate soldier of the Twentieth Georgia Volunteer Infantry. Shortly after enlisting, in late 1861, Hagan was made Third Sergeant and spent the period until the spring of 1863 in the coastal defenses around Savannah. It was not until May 1863 that his regiment was rushed to Mississippi by rail and experienced first combat around Jackson after the fall of Vicksburg. As a First Sergeant Hagan saw further action in the Georgia campaign and was in command of his unit in the fighting near Kennesaw Mountain and before Atlanta. He was captured at Atlanta

and spent seven months at Camp Chase in Ohio.

The war was a matter-of-fact affair to sober, effective Hagan. He wisely observed that "sometimes they whip us and some times we whip them." He wrote of camp life, of man and generals and of the Yankees. He was ever concerned with his wife's problems at home and advised her on such matters as selling or holding on to hogs, corn and corn. His requests were for corn, watermelons, grits, honey, and butter and though Amanda faithfully shipped what he asked for he had to write, on occasion, that some of the contents of her packages were "spoilt."

Professor Wiley's excellent introduction highlights a most worthy addition to the Civil War bookshelf.

—ARNOLD GATES

★ ★ ★

BEAUREGARD: NAPOLEON IN GRAY

by T. HARRY WILLIAMS

Book, cloth, 7¾" x 5½", illus., maps, 345 pp., Louisiana State University Press. Price \$4.75.

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard typified many of the fighting men of the Confederacy, perhaps too much so. Not that he was not individual, for he was, but he was that caliber of man who is described as "a first-rate second-class man." Author T. Harry Williams in his splendid biography has perhaps through this book put his finger on the failure of the South when he states, "Maybe the tragedy of the Confederacy was that it did not have enough first-class generals to go around."

Here is a book that certainly achieves its goal in telling the life of an important, fascinating man. But it does still more. It indirectly analyses the defeat of a country and a way of life. The military acts are all here, the early career including the Mexican War, the brilliance of the man, his dream of great triumphs frustrated, he thought, by others and perhaps this was true. But the man who probably did more to defeat Beauregard was Beauregard.

In style Professor Williams has developed greatly from his already considerable achievements. The book is carefully documented, fully worked out, but not bogged down in scholarship. Furthermore, in this story of a bombastic, self-centered, dedicated man there is much thought-provoking for us today. Such men are around us frequently. How can we use them best? It is certain the Confederacy did not make the best use of the great Creole. Williams is no one-sided hero worshiper. He points up serious personality defects, very bad mistakes of military judgement and other vital drawbacks. But he does believe Beauregard would have developed into a very good field commander—had he been given the chance." That he was frustrated there is no doubt, by Jefferson Davis, by other generals and by those in Richmond, and very often by himself.

He was not a great general. Williams knows all well there are very few of those. But here is a paradox, certainly a colorful, involved personality,

often visionary and impractical in his planning but "a grim and purposeful soldier" in a fight. When his life has thus been spread before us we may well reflect, as Williams has apparently done, upon the difference to history that might have been if Beauregard and possibly others had been just a little bit different, been given a chance or given themselves a chance.

—EBL

★ ★ ★

THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM The New England Emigrant Aid Company In The Kansas Crusade by SAMUEL A. JOHNSON

Book, cloth, 8½" x 5½", 457 pp., University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, Kansas

Eli Thayer, the promoter who organized the New England Emigrant Aid Society, looked upon it as a profit-making speculation. Amos Lawrence, its principal backer, was interested in it mainly as an instrument in the crusade against slavery. Pro-slavery opponents charged that the company had a capital of \$5,000,000 and was raising an army of 20,000 armed men, for which there was basis in promotional claims, and these figures have been repeated in what passes for history. Actually the company's total receipts during its entire history totaled only \$191,741.16, according to nearly complete records, with \$90,000 spent on Kansas lands and \$60,000 in office expenses and other organizational costs. The company itself bought no Sharp's rifles, known as "Beecher's Bibles," although some of its officers including Lawrence, were concerned with arming settlers. The company propagandized for settlers, got them reduced rail fares, set up saw mills and grist mills, and established about ten town sites, the most important of which were Topeka and Lawrence. Actual results attained were of so small extent that you were left wondering what all the shooting was about. This book is a definitive study of the company, based on company records, and is an outstanding contribution to the history of "Bleeding Kansas" in the years just prior to the Civil War.

—DON RUSSELL

★ ★ ★

THE WEB OF VICTORY: GRANT AT VICKSBURG

by EARL SCHENCK MIERS

Book, cloth, 8½" x 5¼", 320 pp., illus., maps, Alfred A. Knopf. Price \$5.

For many years writers have been presenting the facts of the campaigns of General Grant and this is good, for they needed re-telling. Now we are beginning also to see what kind of a man he was—to look into the emotional background of this strange paradoxical personality. Earl Schenck Miers, author of *Gettysburg* and *The General Who Marched to Hell*, has shown great development in this volume. Here he uses the direct quotations,

the dramatic scenes, the sense of being present that were effective in the other two volumes, but he has done it with even a finer pen and has made the events seem more significant in the lives of the men involved.

The Vicksburg campaign was one of the most brilliant of all military history. Grant's work is of the highest caliber and Miers shows it remarkably well. The probing, the attempts that failed, the problems of command, the jealousies, and most important, perhaps, the personal problems of the commander. Excellent use has been made of the Sylvanus Cadwallader papers. Cadwallader was a reporter along on the campaign who was very close to Grant. These papers are at the Illinois State Library and will soon be edited by Benjamin P. Thomas. Mr. Miers uses these to look into the problem of Grant's drinking. He believes that at least at this time Grant drank rather heavily but that he came out with a clear head and that it did not affect his military judgment.

There is, when all is said and done, great drama in that fight against a city and the fight of a city against the invader. For the average reader, for the student, here is the romance, tragedy and suspense of history vividly prepared for you by a man who attempts to understand the men behind the events, and who succeeds.

—EBL

☆ ☆ ☆

THEY CALLED HIM STONEWALL
A Life of Lt. General T. J. Jackson, C.S.A.
by BURKE DAVIS

Book, cloth, 8½" x 6", maps, illus., 470 pp., Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York. Price \$5.00.

The jacket blurb accompanying this new life of Stonewall Jackson purports to present the book as being the first "real" life of the great Stonewall in over fifty years. Is this to imply that it is moot to classify as "real" Allen Tate's "Stonewall Jackson—The Good Soldier, published by Minton, Balch & Co. in 1928? The obvious reference, of course is to Henderson, but the choice of the word "real" seems to be unfortunate. The publishers also say that through diligent research over several years, "Mr. Davis has uncovered hitherto unknown facts about Stonewall and corrects many misapprehensions—though he glosses over none of the faults and eccentricities which gave Jackson his unique quality in a time of greatness."

Indeed, there certainly is no glossing over the eccentricities—the lemon sucking, the baffling secretiveness, the slouchy appearance, the religious fanaticisms. From lengthy and at times tedious allusions to every known Jacksonian idiosyncrasy dredged from previously published anecdotes and recollections, the author succeeds admirably in portraying his subject as being a first class enigma, and withal a curious fellow. But somehow these eccentric traits seem unimportant, and what surely must be the more plausible, the "real" Jackson, still eludes the reader.

Further, a careful reading of the text by those possessed of not more than average working knowledge of previous Jackson biography embodies a disappointment that it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover "hitherto unknown facts about Stonewall", and, perhaps even regretfully, to be unable to correct "many misapprehensions." The author's diligent research over several years seems to have been confined, in the main, to the study of basic works which have enjoyed wide circulation, and the correcting of misapprehensions seem to be typified by such almost ludicrous minutiae as the discovery that Freeman was mistaken in stating that Jackson and Jefferson Davis did not meet face to face until after the engagement at Malvern Hill.

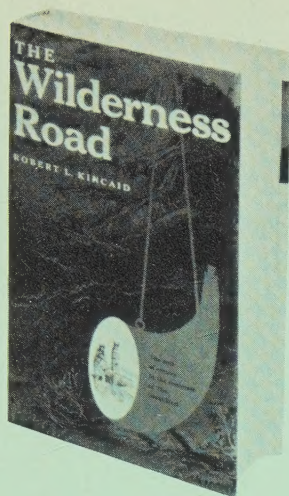
If there had been significant original research performed to illuminate hitherto obscure and controversial points in the Jackson saga, the sources should have been more comprehensively revealed. Reference in the bibliography to even such basic material as the Hotchkiss papers, and Roy Bird Cook's *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* is strangely missing. The book seems to have the further unique distinction of having been compiled without obvious reference to the Official Records.

The impression must therefore prevail that the work was undertaken primarily for popular consumption by readers unfamiliar with the story of Stonewall Jackson, and with that in view, the publishers might well have said so, and developed a more effective sales approach than the promise of new evidence based on original research. For the writing is good; it flows along easily, and confirms the writer's experience and facility in handling popular narrative interestingly.

However, if the book is not for the student even the uninitiated will be plunged at the outset into the confusion of what would seem to be an unnecessarily complex chronological handling of the material. The book opens with the Valley Campaign—about midway of the campaign. The sequence and significance of events in that fast moving action are difficult enough to understand even on attentive and careful study. But Davis starts the unsuspecting inquirer with the battle of McDowell, and works the campaign full circle to McDowell again. Chapter One opens with Jackson sitting on a fence, sucking a lemon, the day after the McDowell fracas, and there ensue many pages of narrative before it begins to dawn on the reader how Jackson got to McDowell in the first place. Perhaps this treatment heightens the drama, but it does so at the price of clarity. It is much like wandering into a movie in the middle.

The fabulous figure of Jackson is receding into the mists of history, and there is scarcely a more urgent challenge to modern research and scholarship than the creation of a new, recognizable valid portrait of the incomparable Stonewall. It will not be judged that Mr. Davis' book discharges this requirement, but if it keeps the popular interest alive (and it gives promise of doing so) until the definitive work can be done, its writing will by no means have been without purpose.

—G. T. DESJARDINS



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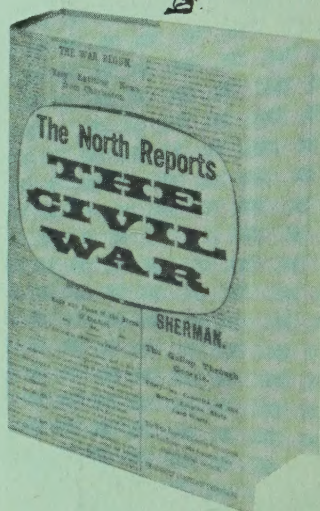


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